

GROWTH OF BANGALORE FROM A SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Bangalore today is one of the fastest growing cities in India. The city was ruled by the Cholas, Gangas, Nolambas, Hoysalas and the Vijayangara Empire who have shaped city by building Temples, agraharas and tanks. Kempegowda a feudatory of the Vijayanagara Empire taking advantage of the political and economic environment built in Bangalore in 1537. After Kempegowda the Marathas, Hyder, Tipu Sultan and the British also have contributed to the growth of Bangalore as a commercial and military center. An attempt is made to understand Bangalore as a 'space which is socially produced'. The paper focuses on the growth of Bangalore city and how different hegemonic groups have produced their own space giving the city multiple layers of identity

KEYWORDS: Space, Dominance, Identity, City

INTRODUCTION

Bangalore has developed along distinct historical, economic, cultural and spatial trajectories. From a small medieval village in the 16th century, Bangalore has grown to be the fifth largest city in India. An attempt is made to understand Bangalore as a 'space which is socially produced'. The production of space occurs through both social practices and material conditions. (Lefebvre, 1991) Even the ancient societies cannot be understood as a simple agglomeration of people and things in space. They had their own spatial practice and were shaped through policies, actions, attitudes, and inventions. The paper focuses on the growth of Bangalore city and how different hegemonic groups have produced their own space giving the city multiple layers of identity.

Early Settlements in Bangalore

The city of Bangalore was established by Kempegowda in 1537 CE, but the landscape on which this city was built is one of the oldest sites of human habitation. Around 100 megalithic burial sites have been found in Bangalore in places like Bellandur, HAL, Chikka Jala, Koyira, Bidarahalli, Jyothipura, and Somappanahalli. (Krishnamurthy, 2005) The discovery of silver coins of Roman emperors Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula near HAL areas indicates the existence of Transoceanic trade with the Romans through the ports on the west coast of Deccan India. (Sewell, 1904) All these point out to the fact that Bangalore was habited and its settlements dated as far back as 6000 years ago.

The many dynasties that ruled Bangalore have created their own space through specific operations of economic, political and judicial ideological apparatus which shape a region or city. The earliest dynasty, to have established its control over the Bangalore region was the Andhra kings of the Kakateya family around the 5th century. They ruled around Nandagudi in Hoskote taluk and to Mankunda near Channapatna. (Kamath 1990) The most important dynasties that ruled

Bangalore from the 4th to 16th century were the Cholas, Gangas, Nolambas, Hoysalas and the Vijayangara Empire. These dynasties controlled the region by not only encouraging new settlements in the region, but also allowed older settlements to persist. This region can be viewed as a frequently altered palimpsest with every dynasty superimposing themselves upon one another.

The Gangas who were the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Badami and later they accepted the overlordship of the Rashtrkutas. The Gangas ruled this region for a very long time from the 4th to 10th century. Talakadu was the capital of the Gangas but their original capital was Kuvalala identified as Kolar. For some time they also ruled from Mankunda near Channapatna and Manne in Nelamangala. Nandagiri fort (Nandi Hills) was another stronghold of the Ganga dynasty. (Kamath, 1990) Inscriptions which belong to the Ganga period were found in Bangalore in K.R Puram, Varthur Lake, Nagandanahalli near White field and Medihalli. (Krishnamurthy, 2005) Nagattara the Ganga administrator built the Nageshwara temple in Begur and had fixed two tanks near the temple. A third tank near Agara near Bangalore especially in the east. The Ganga Prince Ereganga Nitimarga II fought against the Nolambas and killed their King Mahendra and conquered all the territory of the Nolambas. The hero stone of Begur now preserved in Bangalore Museum mentions the death of Nagattara in a war with Nolambas Mahendra. Another hero stone at Begur narrates the Battle of Bengaluru in which a servant of Nagattara was killed. The battle took place in 890 CE. (Hasan, 1970) The Begur inscription is the earliest record found so far with mentions the name Bengaluru.

The Cholas came to power in 894 CE. They built the city of Magadi. They also built many agraharas, temples (Mukteshwara at Binnamangala, Dharmeshwara at Aigandapura, Begur Choleshwara) and many irrigation works (Tanks at Soldevanhalli in Nelamangala taluk and at Kadugodi) were undertaken by the Cholas in Bangalore region (Kamath, 1990). Though the rule of the Cholas lasted for just a little more than a century in Bangalore region its impact was felt long after. This explains why Tamil continued to be used in inscription in some part of Bangalore even when it was under the Hoysala kings.

Inscriptions found at Pattandur, Haggadur, Gunjur, Gunduru, Dodda Nekkundi, Madur, Bairatthi, Hudi, Immadihalli and Saadara mangala refer to Hoysala rule in Bangalore (Krishnamurthy, 2005 and Narasimhachar 1906). Ramanatha who belonged to the Hoysala dynasty ruled Hesargatta and Yelahanka areas. He had given grants to Chokkanatha temple of Domlur, Dharmeshwara temple in Aigandapura and Begur Nageshwara Temple. Many records are available to prove that Ramanatha and his son Vishwanatha had ruled in this region till Hoskote taluk. Vira Ballala III the Hoysala king also continued to the rule over this region. After Hoysala rule, Bangalore district became part of the Vijayanagara Empire. An inscription discovered in Magadi taluk dated 1368A.D inform about the rule of Bukka I of Vijayanagar Empire to have ruled this region.

Most of the information that is available about the early rulers in Bangalore is in the form of inscriptions. These inscriptions are on copper plates, hero stones, memorial stones, pillars, rocks and temple foundations around Bangalore. They inform us about the donations made to temples, land grants made to Brahmin Agraharas, construction of lakes and tanks, battles fought, stories of men and women who have died in these battles, attack of wild animals agricultural property and food crops grown in this region. From the inscriptions, we can derive that there was a huge tract of forested land interspersed between small villages. It was these scattered villages that were incorporated into the ancient

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empires. The villages were self-sufficient and the central authority had little control over the villages. Social practices such as Caste and Kinship played a dominant role in regulating the society during those days. It also proves that the landscape in and around Bangalore had many settlements and Kempegowda produced another space by interpenetrating or superimposing into the space that was already in existence.

Bangalore in the Medieval Period

The political condition and administrative practices of the medieval period in south India were conducive for the establishment of Bangalore city by Kempegowda in 1537 CE. The Hoysalas were defeated by Muhammad bin Tughluq's army which led to the decline of the Hoysala dynasty. The Vijayanagara Empire filled the political vacuum created by the invasion and took responsibility for organizing resistance against the advances of the invaders from the north. The Vijayangara kings ruled with the help of local chieftains who proclaimed their loyalties to them. The domains of such chieftain did not have fixed boundary and were identified by the central core of his authority around a major fortified town and often by a family name. This practice led to fragmented political authority and made the chieftains of the region powerful. (Stein.B, 1989) One of the prominent among the chieftains of Vijayanagara was from the district of Bangalore-Magadi rulers popularly known as Kempegowdas. The family history of Kempegowdas can be traced from Rana Baire Gowda who came from Tamilnadu, Yenmanji puttur near Kanchi and settled at Avati village in Devanahalli Taluk and founded the dynasty of Avati Nada Prabhus. Kempegowda a descendant of this family had assisted the Vijayangara king in suppressing rebellious chieftains in Srirangapatna understood the political ethos of this region where sovereignty in the Vijayangara Kingdom was conceived of as divided or shared. (Pani, 2010) He did not want to challenge the authority of the Vijayanagara King Achyuta Raya and so sought permission to build a city.

In 1537 he cleared the forest in this region and performed a ritual of ploughing the land with bullocks from the Doddapete and Cikkepete junction in four directions. The route traversed by those ploughs became the main roads of his city. He built a mud fort with four gateways in four cardinal directions, towards the North it was called Yelahanka gate, to the south it was the Anekal gate, to the east was Ulsoor gate and to the west was sondekoppa gate. He transferred his capital from Yelahanka to this new town and named it Bengaluru. The layout of the new city was mainly meant for commerce and was divided into various 'petes'(markets)- Nagarthara Pete, Dodapete Pete, Chikkapete, Akki Pete, Bale Pete, Ragi Pete and so on- each specialized in different commodities(Hazan, 1970). Achyuta Devaraya was so appreciative of Kempegowda's loyalty that he granted him Old Bengaluru, Varthur, Yelahanka, Begur, Halasur, Kengeri, Tala-gattapur, Jigani, Kumbalgod, Kanalli, Banavar, and Hessarghatta. (Rice.B.L,1875) The revenue derived from the twelve hoblis amounted to 30,000 pagodas. With this wealth, Kempegowda expanded the Gavi Gangadhareshwara at Gavipur, a mile to the south of the fort, the temple at Basavangudi, and Someshwara temple at Halasuru. He constructed Kempambudhi and Dharmabudhi tanks and also a tank inside the fort to meet the demand of water in this newly constructed city.

Kempegowda II erected the four towers (shikara) at the four cardinal points at Bangalore. (Hazan 1970) Kempegowda II also founded the Kempapura Agrahara in Bangalore city in 1597 CE to support 48 scholars. Records suggest that he ruled over Magadi also. He expanded the Ulsoor Someshwara temple and built the Sampangi Lake and Karanji tank. The construction of tanks was mainly to support the garden economy and temples provided an emotional attachment to the people. These temples were patronized by different manufacturing castes or trade groups to encourage

the religious and social life of its community. Kempegowda II and his father had invited traders and artisans especially weavers from outside to come and settle down in Bangalore. The fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 and the threat of Adil Shahi's of Bijapur compelled trade routes and commercial activity to shift towards the south, and helped the growth of cities like Bangalore. The fortified city (Kote) of Bangalore attracted artisans and merchants, providing security behind its mud walls and moat. Bangalore thus inherited Vijayanagara's role as the leading economic center in the plateau region of peninsular India.

An attempt is made to show how attitudes, actions, innovations and policies produce space. These spaces and social relations also shape and are shaped by multiple layers of identities. During the rule of Kempegowda II the army of Bijapur led by Ranadulla Khan conquered Bangalore in 1638. This made Kempegowda II to vacate Bangaluru and made Magadi his headquarters. Shahji Bhonsle who had accompanied Randulla Khan in the conquest of southern Karnataka was granted Bengaluru as jahagir. The jahagir consisted of Bangalore, Hoskote, Chikkaballapur, Dodaballapur, Kolar and Chintamani area. Shahji lived in a palace called Gourimahal in the present Chikpet area. But the Governor, Shahaji Bhonsle, had little time for Bangalore since he was busy with the frequent military expeditions of Adil Shah. After 1646 CE, Shahaji unfortunately fell into the bad books of Adil Shah and was imprisoned for a short time in 1648. But quite soon, Adil Shah realized that Shahaji could be a tower of support in the impending Moghul attacks. Shahaji was soon elevated as the Jahagirdar and reinstated in Bangalore. The city was ideally located to be an excellent military base. It was not far from the capital of Mysore, Srirangapatna and was within easy access of the Coromandel Coast. Thus Bangalore became the southern military headquarters for the Bijapur Shahs. Training camps, military bases, ammunition dumps, gun factory, horse stables, and soldiers' tents filled most parts of the City. Maharastrian officers and Pandits occupied all responsible posts in the Durbar and sepoys bustled about. Marathi was the official language (Rao.H, 1927). Shahaji was the reason why many Marathas settled in Bangalore. The Maratha rule helped Bangalore to develop into a military center.

After Shahaji's death in 1664, his second wife's son, Venkoji or Ekoji, became the Jahagirdar. Ekoji neglected Bangalore and settled down in Tanjavur in 1675. His attitude angered his step brother, Shivaji. It is interesting to know that Shivaji had spent two years in Bangalore from 1640 to 1642 and was married here. Shivaji occupied his father's Jahagir in 1677 and kept Kolar, Chikkaballapur, and Doddaballapur under his control. Later he gifted Bangalore as "Choli-Bangdi" (pin money) to Ekoji's wife, Deepabai. Ekoji had made donation to Medaraninganahalli for the maintenance of the Kadu Malleswara Temple - the temple, which gave its name to Malleswaram of today.

Shivaji's death in 1680 CE and the Moghul conquest of the Bijapur kingdom in 1686 CE exposed the southern states to the Moghuls. In anticipation, Ekoji tried to sell off Bangalore to Chikkadevaraya Wadiyar, the King of Mysore, for Rs. 3 lakh. But before the deal was finalized, Sambaji's army, from Ginji, and Aurangazeb's army under Khasim Khan from Golconda, marched towards Bangalore. The Moghul commander, Khasim Khan, marched faster and captured Bangalore in 1687 CE. The Moghul presence brought Persian and Arabian influence on the admixture of Kannada and Marathi, which resulted in the birth of "Rekhta" language in Bangalore. The Moghuls constructed Sangin Jamia Masjid in Taramandalpete. It is the oldest mosque in the city. In 1690 CE the Moghuls finalized the sale-cum-lease deal and handed over Bangalore to Chikkadevaraya for Rs. 3 lakh. He built a small fort to the south of the mud fort and the Venkataramana Swamy temple inside it. Bangalore became a major weaving center with more than 12,000 handlooms. Bangalore flourished as a commercial centerduring his regime.

After the death of Chikkadeveraya Wadiyar in 1704 CE many weak ruler came to power. During this period Bangalore was virtually under the control of 26 administrators known as Parupathegars. In 1758 CE Bangalore was given as a Jahagir to Hyder Ali, who had become quite a power in the State. Hyder and his son, Tippu Sultan, stationed themselves in Bangalore. Hyder replaced the Kannada Parupathegars by Muslim Amildars. He also built the Delhi and Mysore gates to the fort and strengthened it with stone walls, and started a gun and ammunition factory in Taramandalpet. The average capacity of production in the Bangalore arsenal was one big gun, five or six muskets and one thousand swords per month. (Kamath, 1990) Outside the fort of Bangalore at kalasipalya were situated rows and rows of stables for the horses of the Mysore cavalry. Bangalore was particularly well suited for rearing horsed imported from Persia. Thus began the contribution of Bangalore to the progress of the military profession, which continues even to this day. Bangalore is the military base and center of training of Indian airmen.

Tippu completed the palace in 1791CE and strengthened the military base in Bangalore. It was one of the strongest military centers in the South India. He invited foreign technicians to help in local production of ammunition, porcelain, and glass. Tippu procured a variety of plants for Lalbagh from other countries. He is also known to have set up a number of silk production centers in Bangalore and elegant cloth was produced. These efforts of Hyder and Tipu laid the foundation for Bangalore to be known as "The Garden City" and also as "The Silk City" in the year to follow. From the time of Kempegowda to Tipu Sultan's rule, Bangalore attracted a lot of merchants and skilled artisans from all over South India who came and settled in Bangalore. Bangalore in the 17th century and 18th century was shaped by the attitude of Marathas, Mughal presence and Hyder and Tipu Sultan actions and policies giving Bangalore many layers of identity.

Colonial City

Shaping space is particularly political and reinforces discrimination. This is visible as a distinct urban form in the 19th century Bangalore. After the death of Tipu in the Fourth Anglo Mysore war in1799, the British recognized the claims of Krishnaraja Wodeyar and handed over the territories of Tipu to the Wodeyar family. Purnaiah was appointed Dewan and Barry Close the resident. The Wodeyars of Mysore became subsidiaries of the British. Bangalore 'pete' which was the strongest military center of Tipu Sultan was intentionally made to collapse by the British. The British troops stationed in Srirangapatna were moved to Bangalore as the climate was more suitable for the troops and the Cantonment was built by 1809.

With the British entering Bangalore city led to the creation of a new twin city one called Pete and the other Civil and Military Station. The Civil and Military station is often referred to as Cantonment, contained the military and administrative offices as well as the bungalows of the British officials. When compared to the Pete, the Civil and Military station were better planned and grew faster with the laying of roads like South Parade, Cavalry Road, Brigade road, Artillery Road etc.(Kamath,1990) Churches were built and buildings of European style were built in the civil area meant for British administrative personnel. The pete was congested with a traditional Kannada speaking population. On the other hand was Backpally, inhabited by various service providers who migrated from all of south India, mainly Urdu speaking Muslims and Tamil speaking population. (Hasan 1970) The General Bazaar catered to the need of both the European and Indian population of Civil and Military station. Russel Market a famous market in this place was started 1927 CE. The main purpose to start this market was to supply the needs of British resident in the Cantonment area.

The British saw to that enough care was taken to ensure that there was very little or no contact between the Cantonment areas and the Peté (Vyasalu, 1985). The economic relations between the cantonment and city was limited.

The presence of a large British force speedily attracted to Bangalore traders and a further impetus was given to its growing prosperity by the transferring it to the civil administration. The administration of Mysore was entrusted to a board of commissioners, which included a senior commissioner and a Junior Commissioner. From 1832 CE the commissioners were made responsible to the Government of India. The Secretariat was shifted from Mysore to Bangalore. In 1834 Sir Mark Cubbon became the commissioner and during his rule Mysore state had four divisions including the New Bangalore division. Bowring succeeded Cubbon in 1862 CE. He divided the state into eight districts. He introduced the municipality at the Bangalore in 1862 CE. The administration of Mysore came to be modernized during the commissioner's period. Owning to its superior climate and to its being within easy reach from Madras, Bangalore has acquired importance. The non –official European population increased gradually. The property in Bangalore began to acquire a great value. Under the commissioner's rule new elements were added to the landscape of Bangalore.

All the headquarters towns came to be connected by roads with Bangalore. The Central Secretariat was first housed at the Tipus Palace and later shifted to the Athara Kacheri built in 1867 CE. The central college was built in 1858 CE. The first telegraph line of Bangalore and the first railway line of the state ended at the cantonment, a place where the British lived in the city. Bangalore was connected by railway with Jalarpet in 1864 CE. With railways, Bangalore became the nucleus of trade of the whole country and the population increased largely. In 1864-65 CE new public buildings were built to create more space for the expanding bureaucracy. The Cubbon Park was constructed in 1864 CE. The construction of Miller tank in 1873CE to provide drinking water to cantonment was undertaken. The British also constructed the Sankey Tank reservoir by improving a natural lake north- west of the city. To ensure water for the growing population the Hesaraghatta reservoir was constructed in 1896 CE by building a dam on the river Arakavathy about twenty kilometers north-west of the city.(Hazan,1970) All these development work undertaken by the British laid the foundation for the development of Bangalore into a modern city. The commissioner rule ended with Rendition of Mysore to the Wodeyars in 1881 CE. Diwans were appointed to look after the administration in the Mysore Kingdom and the process of industrialization of Bangalore began under them.

CONCLUSIONS

It is important to view the city through the lenses of spatiality as it offers alternative way of understanding the city. Even before Kempegowda built the city in 1537 the natural space was disappearing. The Gangas, Nolambas, Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara Empire had established their dominance in this region. The number of tanks, agraharas and temples they built encouraged more settlements in and around which slowly aggregated overtime coalescing into a new entity called Bangalore.(Harini,2016) Kempegowda may have built the roads and markets to encourage the growth of the city, but his actions alone are not responsible for its growth. The fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565 CE and the threat of Adil Shahi's of Bijapur compelled trade routes and commercial activity to shift towards the south, and helped the growth of cities like Bangalore. Bangalore thus inherited Vijayanagara's role as the leading economic center in the plateau region of peninsular India. After Kempegowda the Marathas, Hyder and Tipu Sultan also have contributed to the growth of Bangalore as commercial and military center.

What we can notice till the 18th century in the 'pete' was lack of clear functional differentiation of their land use pattern with most of the land in the city being put into multiple use such an industry, market, residence, administrative and military purpose. The streets were narrow and the city had multi-functional economic activities. The pre industrial city is still observable in Bangalore. The present Avenue Road was the place where Kempegowda first started the building the city of Bangalore. Even to this day in spite of globalization, most of the areas within the Pete have retained their strong presence of community based occupations. Avenue Road (old Doddapete road)retains its traditional trade in garments and textiles, jewellery and pawn brokering, Krishna Rajendra (KR) Market is known for trade in vegetables, fruits, flowers, iron and steel utensils and Sultanpete trades in paper and in Cubbonpete trade is in textiles.

With the British entering Bangalore city it led to the creation of a new twin city with its distinct cultural formations. Bangalore as a colonial city was a distinct urban form resulting from the dominance of British. The spacious European style layouts or towns were more strictly zoned, so that space was designed and developed for single use. Thus residence, workshops and religious structure retained their physical autonomy in these parts of the cantonment. We can notice that these imposed colonial characteristics continued to the present day. Though these two divisions in Bangalore were geographically blurred after independence the cultural distinctions continue even to this day. Thus the Indian rulers in the 'Pete' or the British in the Cantonment region, their policies, attitudes, actions and inventions have shaped our city creating multiple layers of identity.

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